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## FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the second Vice-President, Mr. WARREN, in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Editor, in the absence of the Librarian, reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Frederic Winthrop, an impression in wax of an early Winthrop family seal in his possession.

From Senator Lodge, a photograph of the Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, the Duke of Devonshire, and the late Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, taken by Reid at Ottawa, on their visit to Canada in 1917.

From Fred Joy, the medal of the 26th convention of the American Numismatic Association, 1917.

From Harry Gray, the Souvenir of Boston.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, the silver medal of General Gallieni, Paris, 1916.

By purchase, an etching of the Old South Church, Boston, November, 1917, being of the second series of Boston views issued by the Iconographic Society.

The Editor reported the following accessions of MSS.:

From Solomon P. Stratton of Boston, the records of the Association of Earthenware Dealers, Boston, 1817-1835, of value for its price lists and measures taken to control the sale of crockery and glassware. Lists of the members of this Association at two periods of its existence are:

1817+	1832
ROBERT BRIGGS	JOSEPH S. HASTINGS
HORACE COLLAMORE	OTIS NORCROSS & CO.
CLOUTMAN & STIMPSON	HAY & ATKINS
NATHAN HASTINGS & CO.	JOHN MELLEN
HAY & ATKINS	MICHAEL MELLEN & CO.
SAMUEL SUMNER	G. T. & J. WALDRON
WILLIAM ANDREWS	CHURCHILL, COLLAMORE & CO.
HENSHAW & JARVES	MITCHELL & FREEMAN
S. & J. GIBSON	ROBERT BRIGGS

WILLIAM B. SIMPSON  
 NORCROSS & MELLE  
 WAINWRIGHT & JACKSON  
 DANIEL HASTINGS  
 MICHAEL MELLE & Co.  
 JOSIAH NORCROSS  
 JOSEPH EAYRES  
 TRAIN & STONE  
 EDWARD PAGE

ANDREW T. HALL & Co.  
 I. H. PARKER  
 ISALAH ATKINS  
 WILLIAM F. HOMER  
 WILLIAM R. SUMNER  
 SAMUEL B. PIERCE  
 TAYLOR, REED & Co.  
 LEWIS JOSSELYN  
 STEPHEN A. PIERCE  
 HUNNEWELL & HARRINGTON  
 EPHRAIM B. McLAUGHLIN  
 WILLIAM BARTLETT  
 TAYLOR & WALDRON  
 THAYER & DEAN  
 ISAAC JACKSON  
 J. S. BARBOUR  
 ROBINSON & WIGGIN  
 EZRA CHAMBERLAIN & SON  
 JOHN QUINCY ADAMS CONKEY  
 GEORGE TALBOT

From Charles Francis Jenkins, of Philadelphia, autographs and papers, some of which belonged to Alfred B. Street.

By purchase: about 500 letters and documents, 1769-1839, of the Dodd family of Boston, merchants and traders, with connections in many parts of the world, and a branch house in Charleston, South Carolina.

Letters to Dr. John W. Francis, of New York, with subscription lists for restoring a boy, held in slavery in Georgia, to his parents.

William Bradford Homer Dowse, of Sherborn, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. WARREN read the following note:

Upon the day of the last meeting of this Society, one of our most prominent and most respected members passed away after a short illness — Col. Thomas L. Livermore. His strong and virile personality, his open and hearty manner, his enthusiasm as a student of military history, and his high reputation as a military critic, made him an unusually interesting figure at our meetings, enhanced as it was by his great business ability and his public-spirited devotion to the interests of the country and of the city of Boston. In military and in civil life his career was one of great distinction, and his loss to this community, as well as to this Society, is a serious one.

He was born in Galesburg, Illinois, in 1844, but his family removing to Milford, New Hampshire, he received his early education in the public schools of Milford, and later at Lombard University at Galesburg. Upon the breaking out of the Civil War he enlisted as a private in the 1st New Hampshire Regiment at the age of seventeen, and at twenty was Colonel of the Regiment. Later he served upon the staff of General Hancock at Gettysburg and Petersburg, and was at times upon the staff of Generals "Baldy" Smith, Ord, Warren, Martindale, and Humphreys. A brother officer, who served with him and loved him, said that when he galloped across the field with his erect and manly figure, he seemed the handsomest officer in the army, not excepting the imposing presence of General Hancock himself. But striking as he was in his manly beauty, that was but little compared to his distinguished service; he was a participant in many of the great battles of the war, and had a conspicuous record as a brave and gallant officer and a high-minded and valuable leader of men. At the close of the war he took up the study of the law, was admitted to the Bar, and practised in Boston. His eminent business ability was soon recognized, and he was offered and accepted the position of manager and agent of one of our largest manufacturing corporations, the Amoskeag Manufacturing Corporation at Manchester, New Hampshire. That position he held for six years, filling the place with distinction and success, and retired to become the counsel of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company. There also he made his mark, and was recognized as one of the most eminent mining experts in the country. He withdrew from active business in 1910, but devoted much of his time to the service of the city of Boston as an officer of the Municipal League and the Public School Association, and as a lecturer upon municipal matters, and he also was connected with many business enterprises. Of his great eminence as a military critic Mr. Rhodes will speak later.

He was elected a member of this Society in January, 1901, and was seldom absent from our meetings, except for business engagements. He was a member of the Council for three years, 1905-1908, and his communications to the Society were numerous and valuable, no less than eight appearing in our printed *Proceedings*, in addition to his not infrequent

verbal discussions. No one was listened to with greater interest, and it may truly be said that during the years of his membership no one made a greater impression upon the Society than Thomas L. Livermore.

Another vacancy in our ranks has been caused by the death, on January 21, of Henry Morton Lovering of Taunton. He was probably less well known to many of you, because his important business activities prevented frequent attendance at our meetings. He was born in Taunton in 1840, and passed the whole of his life in that city. He was a graduate of Brown University in 1861, and a gentleman of high culture and refinement. He was a prominent and able manufacturer in Taunton, with very large business interests, and respected for his high integrity and sound business judgment. He filled with success important civic positions in Taunton, and was for many years President of the Old Colony Historical Society. Though not a writer of history, he was a devoted historical student, and of extensive historical information. He was elected a member of this Society in March, 1910, and served upon committees to examine the Library and Cabinet, and to nominate officers. He is recorded as present at a number of meetings, but it does not appear that he submitted any written communication.

Mr. RHODES said of Colonel Livermore:

One of the best centres of military criticism of the Civil War was the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, composed largely of officers in the Union service, who used to assemble monthly for a number of years at the house of John C. Ropes on Mt. Vernon Street, and listen to a paper on some campaign or battle read by one of their members. Founded in 1876 by Ropes, the Society had fallen during the last decade of the last century under the domination of what John C. Gray, himself a member, used to call the "Thomasites." To be a Thomasite meant to share the belief that if George H. Thomas had had the opportunity he would have done better than Sherman and as well as Grant. At the meeting of February 2, 1892, Thomas L. Livermore, in a carefully prepared paper read with great force, contested this opinion, and he

proved his thesis by constant references to the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, published by the United States War Department. Not detracting in any way from General Thomas's fame "as a patriot and soldier" he showed that the popular acclaim was just in awarding greater military ability to Sherman and to Grant. As Livermore read this paper surrounded by men to whom his assertions were unpalatable, he showed himself a master of gentle controversy, but he did not hesitate to drive home with emphasis the points which he advanced, supported as they were by documentary proof. Livermore's experience, first a private, then an officer in the Northern army, always a keen observer, now a close student, gave to his paper high authority hardly relished by the blind admirers of General Thomas. After the paper it was the custom in those days to assemble in Ropes's generous dining-room and sit, as the veterans said, around the camp fires, which in a modern furnace-heated house consisted in helping oneself from a well-furnished table to the generous provision made by the host of American whiskey and cigars. Ordinarily there were two groups in this dining-room; one stood around General Francis A. Walker, then President of the Society, and listened to his brilliant discourse; the other sat with Ropes, hearing his equally interesting comment on some episode. But the talk of both — and it was as good talk as one ever hears — was confined to the battles and campaigns of the Civil War. What would we have ever done with our long winter evenings, said a veteran, had there been no campaigns and battles of the Civil War to discuss?

On this evening of February 2, 1892, both General Walker and Ropes lost their power of attraction. All gathered about Colonel Livermore to discuss his paper. Questions and arguments were fired at him by men in total disagreement. With a smile and laugh, with courtesy rarely paralleled in a controversy, he listened with attention, responded to every argument and parried every thrust. And the great lesson he taught was that a controversy going to the base of the matter might be conducted with perfect good nature without abating a jot of his contention. When the evening came to an end Thomas L. Livermore stood forth as a star and the especial champion of Grant.

From that day to the day of his death he never ceased to plead for Grant's consummate military ability and his distinguished service as a general. This argument may be found in his papers scattered throughout the thirteen volumes of the Military Historical Society, and in some of the contributions that he read in this room. Lauding Donelson, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga, he was especially happy in depicting the Appomattox campaign, and he apparently delighted in making the contrast with Thomas's great battle of Nashville. "At Nashville," so Livermore wrote, "Thomas with 50,000 attacked Hood's 23,000, who fled with slight loss in killed and wounded, leaving 4,462 prisoners in Thomas's hands. In the Appomattox campaign of twelve days, Grant with 113,000 attacked Lee's 50,000 and drove them from their works at Petersburg and Five Forks. The Union army in hostile contact during seven of the twelve days suffered a loss of 9,066 killed and wounded and 1,714 missing, and killed and wounded more than 6,000, captured 40,000, and dispersed the remainder of the 50,000 Confederates." Subsequently treating this same campaign, Livermore wrote, "In no other modern campaign has an army ever pursued, surrounded, and captured so many men in full flight."

It was his idea that the competent military critic must have seen actual service, and, if his idea be correct, we see at once the power back of his words — the words of a trained warrior and a trained student of military affairs.

My first quotation is from a review in the *New York Nation*. General J. D. Cox used to write all the military criticisms on the generals, campaigns, and battles of the Civil War, but, on his lamented death, Wendell Phillips Garrison, the literary editor of the *Nation*, with that wonderful quality always of selecting the right man to treat of any subject chose Colonel Livermore to supply his place. And such was the unity of feeling and agreement of opinion between Cox and Livermore that few, not knowing all the circumstances, could have suspected that a change had been made after 1900.

I have spoken of Colonel Livermore's merit in controversy. John C. Ropes was inclined strongly to the "Thomasites," but on the death of General Walker selected Colonel Livermore as president of the Military Historical Society; and this

position he held at his death. The friendship between the two was warm. The devotion of Livermore to Ropes and his memory was magnificent. The useful volumes of the Military Historical Society published since Ropes's death are largely due to Livermore, who said, when preparing the last volume, "When that is done I shall have fulfilled my promise to Ropes."

In his remarkable paper of 1892 Livermore said that the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* must be regarded as "the fountain head of our military history from 1861 to 1865." When one reads of some of the criticisms of this noble work because, perchance, the editing is not fully in accordance with the modern method — pin-pricks the criticisms may be called — one likes to think that at least four distinguished members of our Society found in these 128 volumes priceless historical material — I refer to John C. Ropes, J. D. Cox, William R. Livermore, and Thomas L. Livermore. Thomas L. Livermore entitled his notable paper, "General Thomas in the 'Record.'" This calls to mind how everyone who read a paper before the Military Historical Society referred to the "Record" in terms that we once used when backing an argument by a citation from Holy Writ.

Livermore's important book was *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War*, of which a second edition was published in 1901. Painstaking and clever, it has become an authority, and anyone who uses it cannot help a feeling of gratitude to the careful student who has given the public the result of his untiring zeal. When we think of our entrance into the present great war it is agreeable to read one of Livermore's generalizations: "The record on both the Confederate and Union sides places the people of the United States in the first rank of militant nations."

An acquaintance of twenty-six years developed into a warm friendship. In Europe as well as in this country, at serious meetings, in walks on the Mill-Dam walk or in Commonwealth Avenue, at dinner, as he was an accomplished diner-out, I saw much of him. In military matters I sat, so to speak, at his feet, but conversation with him took many forms. He was intelligent, affable, and gifted, with a robust common sense. In a cheery way he adopted the maxim of poor Edmund C. Stedman, "Take all the good you can get in life from day to day."



Mr. KELLEN then read as follows:

Henry Morton Lovering, a resident member of this Society since May 12, 1910, died on January 21, 1918, in Taunton, his birthplace, at the age of seventy-eight. He was graduated from Brown University in 1861, and went at once into business with his father and brothers in Taunton. In that inland city of the Old Colony he lived, an active force in the community, throughout his long and useful life. His career afforded a striking example of the beneficial influence of a college-bred man in a rapidly growing industrial community. From young manhood to age he was an active factor in the social, business, and religious development of the city. It was natural that the Treasurer of the Whittenton Mills should become the President of the Taunton National Bank and a Trustee of the Taunton Savings Bank, as well as a director in other financial enterprises. Such men are sought for such positions; inducements are held out to them; there are not enough of them to go round. It was, however, only a fine public spirit, a sense of civic duty, that led him to give up a good part of forty years to the work of the Taunton Water Board. It was a similar desire to serve his neighbors, as well as pride in his native city — for he was a quiet, unostentatious, far from forth-putting man — which led him to serve in the Common Council for several years, and subsequently for a year on the Board of Aldermen. Nothing, in fine, that interested his fellow citizens and made for the growth and well-being of the city failed to excite his interest and secure his support.

He was a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and an influential layman. He was a frequent delegate to Diocesan Conventions, and three times he was elected and served as a deputy in successive General Conventions of that communion, the highest honor for a layman in the gift of the Church.

He was much interested in historical matters and early became a member of the Old Colony Historical Society. At his death he was — as he had been for many years — the President of that Society, which prospered exceedingly under his wise and faithful administration. He thus fitly represented his section of the State in the membership of this Society. He was on occasion an interested attendant upon these meet-

ings as long as his health and strength permitted him to do so. He never took part actively in the proceedings, but more than once this Society was the gainer in historical material through his efforts.

In his death his native city and State have lost a wise and dependable citizen, and this Society a loyal and interested member.

Mr. THAYER followed, in a tribute to Pasquale Villari, Honorary Member of the Society:

In 1901 when our late President, Mr. Adams, was planning to reorganize the scheme of honorary membership in this Society and desired to make the election of an honorary member a "crowning," as he called it, of great distinction, he asked me what Italian historian was qualified for this group. For he wished that our honorary members, limited in number to ten, should be drawn from among the eminent historians of the world and not merely restricted to Americans. I told him that Villari held beyond question the highest rank in Italy, and that his reputation was not only undisputed in Europe but was, in fact, world-wide. On December 12, 1901, this Society elected him an Honorary Member.

Pasquale Villari was born at Naples, October 3, 1827. He attended the University of Naples, and apparently planned to fit himself for the profession of lawyer. Under the Bourbon rule of the time, which Gladstone not long afterward described as "the negation of God erected into a system of government," higher education in Naples was at a very low level. But in the University there were two or three professors of real ability, chief among them being Francesco de Sanctis. He lectured on literature, literary theory and criticism, was himself a critic of original discernment and power, and above all he was one of those very rare teachers who have the God-given faculty of forming the character as well as developing the mind of their pupils. It was a time when liberal ideals were beginning to glide into the hearts of young men of promise, and Villari was among the youths stirred by them. He was sufficiently implicated in the Revolution of 1848 which forced the despicable Bourbon king, Bomba, to grant a constitution, for his future to be compromised. When the Revolution fell,



MHS

*Pasquale Villani*

Bomba repudiated the constitution and punished by death or imprisonment the leaders of the Liberal party. Even so inconspicuous a youth as Villari fled for his life and took refuge in Florence. There, under the genteel but foresworn Austrian Grand Duke, even conspirators were allowed to live unmolested, if they held their tongues.

Villari supported himself by giving private lessons in Italian to foreigners, devoting his spare time to vigorous historical study and investigation. He was the first Italian of note who followed what used to be regarded as the "German method" of historical research; a method which, however, since it seems to have been employed by the best ancient historians who existed long before even the Huns had plundered their way from Asia into Europe, can hardly be regarded as a German monopoly. Where Villari learned this method I do not know; he did not study in Germany, nor does it appear that any German professor taught him in Florence. But he dug in that matchless historical treasure-house, the Florentine archives, and having fresh eyes, an unusual scent for the important, and a penetrating vision for material, he unearthed much that had been left buried or neglected even about the great periods in Florentine history. The first fruits of his researches appeared in 1859 in the first volume of his *History of Savonarola and his Times*. Two years later he completed the work by publishing the second volume. The book at once took its place as the best on its subject. Readers of *Romola* will remember that George Eliot, writing her novel at that time, refers to it, and it would be easy to trace how much she drew from it in composing her own portrait of Savonarola. Villari adopted the practice of inserting into his text many of Savonarola's own words, thereby forming a mosaic and giving to it an effect of authenticity — a practice which our own Mr. Rhodes has used with such success in his works.

Meanwhile Villari filled the chair of history at the University of Pisa, and as, after 1859, Central and Northern Italy (except Venetia) were united and free, he was thenceforth unhindered in his utterances on politics. As Florence lacked a University, some influential men founded there the Institute of Higher Studies, in which Villari became professor of history. He was appointed secretary of what would correspond to our national

Bureau of Education, and his influence was considerable in the work of remodelling the general educational system of the new kingdom of Italy. He also took zealous, not to say combative, interest in many of the political questions of the day, served several terms in the Chamber of Deputies, and throughout his life was a publicist both copious and cogent. The modern Italian professors, especially of history, like the French, have never looked upon it as their ideal, to sit aloof from the Present, in order to keep unspotted their reputation for impartiality towards the controversies of the Past; quite the opposite, they seemed to act instinctively on the theory that the better a man knows the Past the better qualified he ought to be to discuss the vital issues of the Present. And so we find Villari often involved in heated discussions. A Southerner by birth and early training, the fact that he was a Florentine through all his mature life and in the substance of his intellectual work never rubbed out his sympathy for the South. Some of his most appealing pamphlets called attention to the shocking conditions in Naples and Sicily, and he strove to lighten the burdens there, not only by improving education, but agriculture and a system of land tenure. The last time I heard him speak, some ten years ago, he warned Italy, north as well as south, against the great peril she ran from the emigration of her peasants. All the money they send back, he said impressively, to their families at home will never compensate for the loss of her young men, the man-power of the nation and the hope of her future. He began his polemics early in the sixties and he continued them until within a few years of his death. His *Lettere Meridionali* on the social question in the South are still remembered, and it is worth remarking that Sidney Sonnino, the weightiest of contemporary Italian statesmen, published among his earliest political monographs one on the peasants in Sicily (*I Contadini in Sicilia*, 1877), a work in which Villari encouraged him.

In 1884 King Humbert made Villari a senator. In Italy senators hold office for life, a position which relieves them from the fluctuations of party vicissitudes, but does not necessarily prevent them from entering into the heats of party quarrels. Certainly Pasquale Villari never allowed his senatorial chair to be a post of silence; nor could any chair which he occupied

be a post of obscurity. Marquis di Rudinì made him Minister of Public Instruction, a position which seemed to offer a great opportunity to Villari's talents and knowledge; but he somewhat disappointed the friends who expected most of him; illustrating in this the great gulf which lies between the thinker who can see plainly in his study what ought to be done, and the executive who can manipulate men and things to accomplish the desired ends. It must also be said that Villari's term as minister came at a crisis of internal political disorder and of external uncertainty and menace, which were quite unfavorable to the calmness required for devising educational reforms.

Amid all his other activities, however, that of historian was his permanent vocation. In 1877 he published the first of a three-volume biography on Niccolò Machiavelli, a companion piece to his Savonarola, and a completion of the large canvas on which he drew the history of the Medicean epoch. He published also studies on the barbarian invasions of Italy, and on the first two centuries of Florentine history, works less compacted and unified than his biographies, but containing the latest information at the time, derived from his investigation of the sources. To enumerate even the chief topics into which his fugitive essays may be classified would be superfluous. He contributed articles and reviews of all sorts to the *Nuova Antologia*. He wrote essays on Dante and Dante subjects; he discussed whether history is a science or an art; he criticized with equal zest the latest book on Cavour or on Leopardi. He had, in a word, the facility of the journalist and the versatility of the typical Italian of great talent.

I find it somewhat difficult to state Villari's position as a historian. As an essayist and reviewer his work was eminently fugitive, as such work must almost always be. As the book and the issue of the year are generally forgotten, or are put into that limbo where we expect posterity to spend its time, so what is written about them fade away also; but Villari's fugitive pieces will be referred to by persons who wish to know how their subject impressed one of the keenest Italian minds of the time. His position as an historian, like that of George Bancroft in this country, became legendary long before he died. Just as Bancroft first published much original material

on American history, so Villari is a pioneer in many details of the lives of Savonarola and Machiavelli. It is sixty years since he printed the first and over forty since he printed the second, and they still remain standards. You cannot hope to know either of those great men without reading Villari's biographies of them. I do not feel, however, that they are in the true sense final, for they lack, at least to my taste, the living glow, the simplification of complex episodes, and the intimacy, charm and dignity of expression, without which no history or biography can be final. *Forma vita est*: unless any work of art has a *living* form, it has not life.

Professor Villari's biographies were translated into many languages. He welcomed to his home at Florence visitors from all over the world for half a century; and one should not forget to record how much his English wife, Miss Linda White, contributed by the translation of his books into English, and by her English connections, to the dissemination of his influence.

Villari died in Rome on December 7, 1917, having lived to see the invasion of his beloved Italy by the hordes of modern barbarians. He kept his faculties to the last. In person he was a little man, hardly above five feet tall, with a keen intellectual face, which had the quality of old ivory. He never lost his gift of acute and definite speech, and Italians remarked that his threescore years of residence in Florence never sufficed to cancel a certain Neapolitanism in his speech and in the vivacity of his gestures.

Dean HODGES read a paper on

#### THE OLD TESTAMENT WAY OF WRITING HISTORY.

##### I.

The province of the Old Testament historians is indicated by the fact that in the Hebrew Bible they are classed with the prophets. The "latter prophets," beginning with *Isaiah*, are preceded by the "former prophets," beginning with *Joshua*, and including the historical books of *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*.

There is in this no reference to the predictive elements in history. The competent historian is indeed a prophet, because

he deals with the operation of cause and effect in human conduct, and gives his readers reason to infer that what has taken place in the past shall under like conditions take place in the future. Thus an historian of the revolution in France in the eighteenth century is a prophet as to the course of the revolution which is in progress in Russia at this moment. But the title of "prophet" in the Old Testament is given not with reference to prediction, but with reference to instruction. The men who are so named have to do with the future only as the future is the result of the present. They speak on the basis of their knowledge of the divine ordering of the affairs of men, and say, "If you continue to do this and that, such and such consequences shall surely follow." But their essential business is with the present. They are preachers. The Old Testament historians are preachers.

The modern historian is writing history. His business, as he understands it, is to ascertain the exact facts so far as he is able, to set them down in their proper sequence and proportion, and to accompany them with such explanation and comment as shall make his book not merely a collection of statistics but an account of the significance of events. In this undertaking he must confine himself to his sources, and must say only so much as he can support by the evidence of his authorities. If any legendary matter is mixed up with his materials he must mark it "legendary," and any illustrative stories he must verify, if possible, or cancel.

The ancient historian, whether in the Bible or out of it, was not bound by these restrictions. Plutarch, at the beginning of his *Lives*, expresses indeed a preference for the things which may be proved, and condemns the writings of his predecessors as consisting of "strange sayings, and full of monstrous fables, imagined and devised by poets, which are altogether uncertain, and most untrue." He confesses, however, that he himself is not averse to fables if they are such as may be "graced with some appearance of historical narration." If in the course of his writing he shall anywhere fail to give a good fable this historical appearance, he offers an apology beforehand. If any things that I say seem to "range a little too boldly out of the bounds or limits of true appearance, and have no manner of conformity with any credibleness of matter, the readers in



courtesy must needs hold me excused, accepting in good part that which may be written and reputed of things so extremely old and ancient." The Old Testament historians were like minded.

A comparison of almost any page of modern historical writing with almost any page of Bible history shows on the one hand solid paragraphs of description or discussion, and on the other hand a lively play of conversation. In these Bible histories everybody talks. Abraham and Isaac go together to the place of sacrifice, and on their way they talk. Isaac says, "Father, here is the fire and the wood for the altar, but where is the lamb?" Abraham answers, "My son, God will provide himself a lamb." Moses and Joshua come down together from the heights of Sinai, and hear a sound of voices from the plains below. Joshua says, "I think they are shouting: there is a battle." Moses says, "I think they are singing. It sounds to me like the singing of those who worship an idol; there is something worse than a battle in the camp." No modern historian would venture to report such conversation unless he found it in his sources. The Bible historian found it in his own imagination. And he set it down because his immediate intention was not accuracy — accuracy had not yet been discovered: his intention was to bring the people of the past to life again for the instruction of the people of the present. For the fulfilment of this intention he made use of every art of which he was possessed, — the art of the painter, the art of the poet, the art of the dramatist, if he had it.

Somebody has wondered what Keats would have replied to a careful historian who should venture to criticize his sonnet "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer." Keats writes in his poem:

Then felt I like some watcher of the skies,  
When a new planet swims into his ken;  
Or like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes  
He stared at the Pacific — and all his men  
Looked at each other with a wild surmise —  
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

The historian says, "But, Mr. Keats, are you quite sure that the Pacific Ocean was discovered by Cortez? There are excellent authorities who hold that it was discovered by Bal-

boa." Keats would probably answer, "I am not writing a history of the Pacific Ocean. The name of the discoverer is wholly indifferent to me. Balboa will not fit my metre. I shall leave it as it is." So with the men who wrote the Old Testament histories. They were not poets, like Keats, but they were prophets; they were preachers. They wrote with the intention of the preacher. Their interest was in moral values.

Thus in the *Second Book of Kings* fourteen times as much space is given to a single prayer of Solomon as is given to the entire reign of Jeroboam II. Jeroboam II was a great and successful king. "He restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain," and he "recovered Damascus." These conquests made his dominions as great as the empire of David. Any historian who was engaged in writing history, according to our understanding of that enterprise, would have given Jeroboam at least a chapter; he is given only seven sentences.

Another illustration of the homiletical character of the Old Testament histories appears in a comparison of *Chronicles* with *Kings*. *Chronicles* is a second edition of *Samuel* and *Kings*. It is a history of Israel which takes over the earlier history word for word, with additions and omissions. The omissions are significant.

Everything is omitted which might bring discredit upon the good name of King David.

The chronicler is diligently copying the pages of the *Second Book of Samuel*. "And it came to pass," he says, following word for word, "that after that year was expired, at the time that kings go forth to battle, Joab led forth the power of the army, and wasted the country of the children of Ammon, and came and besieged Rabbah. But David tarried at Jerusalem." There he suddenly stopped, at 2 *Samuel* XI. 1. He turned a page of his original, and another, and another, and resumed his copying at 2 *Samuel* XII. 26, word for word again: "And Joab smote Rabbah and destroyed it. And David took the crown of their king from off his head." And so on. Between XI. 1 and XII. 26, he has omitted the whole disgraceful story of David and Bathsheba. This he considers unprofitable reading for the Young Men's Hebrew Association. A like omission drops

into discreet silence the unpleasant account of the rebellion of Absalom. One may read *Chronicles* from beginning to end without discovering that any son of that name ever belonged to the family of David. David appears in this history as a king without reproach, and without defeat. There is no mention of the war with the house of Saul by means of which he seized the throne, nor of the conspiracy of Adonijah to dethrone him in his old age. The Chronicler's picture of David is like a photograph retouched, with all the lines smoothed out. It is one of the few exceptions to the customary frankness of the writers of the Bible in dealing with the sins of the saints. The exception is plainly made on moral grounds, and for homiletical purposes. The intention of the writer to make a record of events is distinctly subordinated to his chief and controlling purpose to make a record of such events as seem to him to convey a profitable lesson.

Another notable omission removes from *Chronicles* all mention of the affairs of the northern kingdom.

*Chronicles* follows *Kings* through the days of David and Solomon. The two histories agree, for the most part, in their descriptions of that era of prosperity and splendor. They agree in praising the wisdom of Solomon. The writer of the second history, however, draws his copying pencil through the account in the first history of Solomon's folly. He omits the statement that Solomon had a multitude of foreign and heathen wives, that he "went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites," and that he built "an high place for Chemosh the abomination of Moab in the hill that is before Jerusalem," and to these strange gods, before their images, burnt incense and offered sacrifice.

Also he omits the statement that Solomon imposed upon his people a burden of forced labor, and made them work in the quarries and in the forests to provide materials for the cities which he built. When in consequence of this oppression the northern tribes inquired of Solomon's successor whether he intended to follow the policy of his father, and were informed that he intended to do what his father had done, and more also, they rebelled, and established a kingdom of their own. To the mind of the writer of *Chronicles* this declaration of independ-

ence was not only a revolution but a schism. As a matter of fact, it was a righteous rebellion against a heartless and intolerable tyranny. It was followed, however, by most unfortunate consequences, political and ecclesiastical. Politically, it not only divided the Hebrew kingdom, but it set the two divisions each against the other, through a long and suicidal series of civil wars. Ecclesiastically, the northern tribes made shrines for themselves in their own country, and came no more to the temple at Jerusalem. Even to the writer of *Kings* this was a separation from the true church. To the writer of *Chronicles* it was an act so hateful to God and to good men that the northern kingdom ought to be cast out of all remembrance. So far as he was able, he cast it out. He gave it no place in his records. Even the great prophets, Elijah and Elisha, he consigned to silence and oblivion. From his point of view as a good churchman they were no better than dissenting ministers.

## II.

Turning now from the purpose of the Old Testament historians to their method we find that they were compilers of source-books. They used their sources as diligently as any historians of the present day, but they used them differently. Instead of studying the sources, comparing them, explaining them, debating and deciding their disagreements, digesting them, and then writing a history in the light of what they had thus learned, they followed the much simpler method of transcribing the sources. They set down what they found in the form in which they found it.

In so doing they were in no wise perturbed by the discovery of differing accounts of the same event. The idea that these differences must be somehow adjusted, or reconciled, seems not to have occurred to them. If the modern historian in the progress of his researches comes upon two reliable sources, one of which states the matter in one way, and the other in a different way, he cannot rest content until he has determined which is right and which is wrong. This is because he is primarily an historian. He may have strong prejudices: his history may be written as an argument to prove a proposition —

even so, the presence of conflicting statements distresses him like a pain. He is irresistibly impelled to decide the conflict by some solution.

That the men who wrote the historical books of the Old Testament were not of this mind is made evident by the continually recurring fact of duplication. We find them setting down side by side different descriptions of the same transaction, between which we are left to take our choice. The difference does not disturb them, because they are interested not so much in the facts as in the truths which are at the heart of the facts.

Dr. Edward Everett Hale's son who wrote his *Life* acknowledges that his father was often inaccurate, but he says that he was inaccurate only in regard to details to which he attached no importance. He did not care whether a thing happened on Tuesday or on Friday. But for the thing itself, about which he cared much, his memory or his study impelled him to exactness. He was not averse to telling the same story in different ways at different times, if only the hearer got the point. So it was in the Old Testament.

For example, the narrative of a patriarch who to save his life in a strange court tells the king that his wife is his sister occurs in *Genesis* three times. Now the patriarch is Abraham, and the king is the Pharaoh of Egypt; now the patriarch is Isaac, and the king is Abimelech, of the Philistines. It is an unpleasant story, which the writer of *Chronicles* would probably have blue-pencilled. The writer of *Genesis* found it in his sources in three forms. It seemed to him a good story, and he took it over in all three ways. He cared no more for the differences than for the discrepancy between the source which said that Noah led the animals into the ark by twos, and the source which said that he led them in by sevens.

The modern historian is like the draughtsman who draws the plans of a cathedral: the ancient historian was like the artist who makes a picture of it. The artist is not greatly concerned about the details, what he would reproduce is an impression. He would represent the antiquity, the solemnity, the sense of reverence and worship, which the building embodies. If the draughtsman should criticise the picture, pointing out a defect in the curve of an arch, or a disproportion-

tion in the shape of a turret, the artist might well reply that his work was not intended for the guidance of masons or carpenters, but for lovers of beauty or of religion.

This principle explains a certain freedom of the Old Testament historians in the treatment of their sources. In the case of the writer of *Chronicles* we have in *Samuel* and *Kings* some of the sources which they used, and we perceive that they were not always content to copy that which lay before them, but sometimes changed it to suit their own ideas. For example, the annual revenue of Solomon at the height of his glory was estimated in *Kings* to have been less than a thousand talents of gold, but we are told in *Chronicles* that Solomon inherited from David his father, for the one purpose of building the temple, a hundred thousand talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of silver. Such a deliberate increase on the part of a modern historian would be accounted by critics an offence akin to raising the figures on a cheque. But under the conditions which governed Old Testament historians it means only that the author is a man for whom figures are not statistics but symbols. To him the exact value of the revenues of David and Solomon is a matter of entire indifference. He has no more conscience about it than Fra Angelico has as to the ornithological accuracy of the texture of the wings of his angels. His sole intention is to impress upon his readers the fact that the early rulers of Judah were great and wealthy sovereigns. When the books of *Kings* were written this fact was adequately represented by the sum of a thousand talents. But since then several centuries have passed; the people of Israel have become accustomed to higher standards in the court of Babylon. In order to produce the same impression the books of *Chronicles* must say a hundred thousand.

The Old Testament method which produces not so much a history as a source-book of history accounts for the frequent, and sometimes perplexing, phenomenon of duplication. Thus the Old Testament begins with two entirely different descriptions of the creation of the world. One is dignified and stately, and is ordered like a book of science; the other brings us into a garden of magic trees, and talking beasts, and is as full of poetry as a fairy tale. The compiler of the source book found

these two accounts in the general mind and memory, and set them both down side by side. One of them starts with a great deep, the other with a great desert; in one of them man is late, in the other early, in the order of creation. Why not? The compiler assumes no responsibility.

Presently he puts together two diverse accounts of Cain: according to one he goes out into an unpeopled world; according to the other he not only finds a wife but founds a city. The idea is to copy into the book everything that anybody ever said about Cain. If the accounts hold together, well; but if not, well. The reader may do with them as he pleases.

Scholars distinguish in the first five or six books of the Old Testament two distinct strands of narrative, which represent, they say, the traditions of the old time as they were told in the northern and in the southern parts of Palestine. Then appear two quite different accounts of the conquest of Canaan: one in *Joshua*, where the united tribes win a few decisive battles, and divide the land between them; the other in *Judges*, where each tribe fights for its own place, and the land is won very gradually, after many grievous defeats. Then we come to two distinct series of historical books. In the first are four volumes, *First and Second Samuel*, and *First and Second Kings*, which begin with the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy and extend to the fall of Jerusalem. In the second series are four volumes, *First and Second Chronicles*, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, which begin over again with the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy, and come on over the same ground, with the additions and omissions which we have already noted, and extend to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, after the return of the people from their deportation. The effect of this historical method, with its continual duplication and variation, is to perplex the uninitiated reader. When, for example, he finds David settled as a minstrel in the court of Saul, attending on the king, and sees him in the next chapter coming from the farm and undertaking the duel with Goliath to the amazement of Saul, who says to Abner, "Abner, whose son is this youth?" to whom Abner answers, "As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot tell," how shall he explain the situation in which David is one day well known and the next day unknown in the same place? The confusion is produced by quoting now one source, and now



*Algernon Sidney*  
*Manus hæc Inimica Tyrannis*  
*Enje petit placidam sub Libertate Quietem*



another, without any attempt to make them fit together. And so, in a hundred other places.

To the scholar this makes the Old Testament history an unfailing joy. He is deeply grateful to these historians who instead of rewriting their sources have preserved them almost untouched as they found them. He is thus enabled to go back to the materials out of which the books were made, to the primitive legends and traditions, to the ancient songs and stories, to documents contemporary with the events which they record.

Mr. CHESTER N. GREENOUGH read the following paper on  
ALGERNON SIDNEY AND THE MOTTO OF THE COMMONWEALTH  
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

At our last meeting two interesting and difficult questions were proposed, to which another may well be added: First, did Algernon Sidney, when he wrote certain words in the Album of the University of Copenhagen, originate or quote those words? Secondly, just what did Sidney write in the album? Thirdly, how did the words *Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem* come to be adopted as the motto of Massachusetts? To the first and second of these questions I have given little attention, although, as I have investigated the third point, certain bits of evidence have accumulated which seem to me to bear upon them.

Let me first rehearse two sets of well-known facts — those relating to the adoption of a design for the seal, and those relating to Algernon Sidney and his *Discourses concerning Government*.

Soon after the government of Massachusetts began its work of reorganization at Watertown in the summer of 1775, the need of a new seal was realized. On July 28, 1775, the Council<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Council consisted of twenty-eight members, as follows: "for the Territory called the Territory of the Massachusetts Bay," James Bowdoin, Benjamin Greenleaf, John Hancock, Joseph Gerrish, Jedediah Foster, Michael Farley, Joseph Palmer, Jabez Fisher, James Pitts, Caleb Cushing, John Winthrop, John Adams, James Prescott, Thomas Cushing, Benjamin Lincoln, John Whitcomb, Samuel Adams, Eldad Taylor; for the territory formerly called New Plymouth, William Seaver, Walter Spooner, James Otis, Robert Treat Paine; for the territory formerly called the Province of Maine, Benjamin Chadbourne, Enoch Free-

which had become the executive branch of the government ordered "That Col. Otis and Doctr. Winthrop, with such as the Honble. House shall join, be a Committee to Consider what is necessary to be done relative to a Colony Seal." On the same day the House concurred, and added to the joint committee Major Hawley, Dr. Church, and Mr. Cushing.<sup>1</sup>

On August 5, at the desire of the Council, the committee was called together; and, Dr. Church and Mr. Cushing being absent, Major Bliss and Dr. Whiting were substituted.

On the same day the committee recommended to the Council that the former device should be discontinued and that "the Devise herewith be the established form of a Seal for this Colony, for the future." Although the drawing which evidently accompanied this report appears not to have survived, we can roughly conjecture what it was from the action of the Council and of the House upon the report: the Council accepted it "with this Amendment, *viz.* Instead of an Indian holding a Tomahawk and Cap of Liberty, there be an English American, holding a Sword in the Right Hand, and Magna Charta in the Left Hand, with the Words '*Magna Charta*,' imprinted on it." The House accepted the committee's report as thus amended by the Council with one important change: the House voted that "on the devise previous to the word *Petit* be Inserted the word *Ense* and subsequent to it the word *placidam*." That is to say, the committee seems to have recommended the motto "*Petit sub libertate quietem*," the Council to have accepted this motto, and the House to have inserted the two words necessary to make the motto as we know it. All this was between July 28 and August 5, 1775.<sup>2</sup>

man, Charles Chauncy; for the territory lying between the River Sagadahock and Nova-Scotia, Dr. John Taylor; at large, Moses Gill, Dr. Samuel Holten. *A Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives*, etc., Watertown, 1775, 6.

<sup>1</sup> The original records (Massachusetts Archives, Vol. VI, f. 460, and cxxxvii, ff. 14-15) are in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth at the State House. The printed record, *A Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives*, Watertown, 1775, is in the Harvard College Library and the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

<sup>2</sup> On the later changes in the seal (whereby the motto is not affected), see W. H. Whitmore in Commonwealth of Massachusetts, House Document No. 345 (1885); E. H. Garrett, "The Coat of Arms and Great Seal of Massachusetts" in the *New England Magazine* for 1901, xxiii, 623 ff. Mr. Garrett's article has to do wholly with the Indian and with the arm and sword in the crest. This arm, by the way, takes on additional significance when one remembers the first four words of the motto in their relation to the word *Ense*.

It seems evident that whoever suggested the motto had in mind the line usually attributed to Algernon Sidney; but whether the suggestion originated in the committee, in the Council, in the House, or in the mind of some outsider, the record fails to tell.

The more scholarly leaders of the American Revolution habitually sought to fortify their cause by appealing to certain earlier writers on political theory.<sup>1</sup> John Adams spoke for many when he wrote in 1775:

These are what are called revolution principles. They are the principles of Aristotle and Plato, of Livy and Cicero, and Sydney, Harrington and Locke. The principles of nature and eternal reason. The principles on which the whole government over us, now stands.<sup>2</sup>

Among these earlier writers Algernon Sidney<sup>3</sup> holds an important place. His picturesque and independent career, his tragic death, and the solidity and vigor of his *Discourses concerning Government* combine to make him a very striking figure. His father was the second Earl of Leicester; his mother was the daughter of the ninth Earl of Northumberland. As a colonel — later a lieutenant-general — of horse, he fought with credit on the parliamentary side. Believing that “the king could be tried by no court,”<sup>4</sup> he refused to have any part in the later meetings of the court which condemned Charles I, and maintained a position in the matter which gained him the disapproval and suspicion of Cromwell. He became Councillor of State, however, in 1652; and in 1659 — having been in retirement under the Protectorate — he was made a commissioner to negotiate between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden. In the course of his visit to Denmark occurred the famous episode which gives us our motto. The version of the affair which had come to the rather choleric Earl of Leicester occa-

<sup>1</sup> See C. E. Merriam, *A History of American Political Theories*, New York, 1906, especially Chapter II; H. F. Russell Smith, *Harrington and his Oceana, A Study of a Seventeenth Century Utopia and its Influence in America*, Cambridge [England], 1914, especially Chapter VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Works*, iv. 15.

<sup>3</sup> The best short account of Sidney's life is that by Professor C. H. Firth in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. A fuller biography is A. C. Ewald's *Life and Times of the Hon. Algernon Sydney*, 2 vols., London, 1873.

<sup>4</sup> Blencowe, *Sydney Papers*, 237.

sioned the following passage in a long and bitter letter to Algernon Sidney, which the Earl wrote on August 30, 1660:

It is said that the University of Copenhagen brought their album unto you, desiring you to write something therein, and that you did write in albo<sup>1</sup> these words:

Manus haec inimica tyrannis

and put your name to them; this cannot choose but be publicly known if it be true.<sup>2</sup>

On September 21, 1660, Sidney replied at length and with much patience and courage. In the matter of the line in the album, he said: "That which I am reported to have written in the book at Copenhagen is true; and having never heard, that any sort of men were so worthily objects of enmity, as those I mention, I did never in the least scruple avowing myself to be an enemy unto them."<sup>3</sup> It will be noted that neither in the Earl's memorandum,<sup>2</sup> nor in his letter, nor in Algernon Sidney's reply is there any evidence that Sidney wrote in the album more than the four words, *Manus haec inimica tyrannis*. But, excepting the text as given in Rochester's *Familiar Letters* (see p. 269), these documents were inaccessible until 1835, when they were printed by Blencowe.

After the Restoration, Sidney lived abroad, not always without danger of feeling the vengeance of Charles II, until 1677, when he was allowed to return to England. He found the events of the early 1680's too exciting to keep out of, was arrested after the failure of the Rye-House Plot, tried, con-

<sup>1</sup> On the phrase "in albo," see *Oxford Dictionary*, s. v. Album, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Blencowe, *Sydney Papers*, 209-211. Almost exactly the same version of the affair is given in an "extract from a manuscript of Lord Leicester in the possession of Mr. Lambard": "Saturday, 28 July, I returned his visit [Mr. Pedicombe's visit is meant], and falling into discourse about my said son, and of our King's displeasure to him, he sayed, that according to the usages of Germany and Denmark, the university of Copenhagen had brought to my son a new Album, which is a book, wherein the university desired him to write some word or motto, and to sign his name in that booke, and that my said son had written in Albo, these words,

'Manus haec inimica tyrannis,'

and set his name to it, which, says Mr. Pedicombe, being written in the Album of the said university, must needs be knowne to many, and may doe your son somme hurt, because he hath declared himself to be a defender of the Commonwealth." Blencowe, *Sydney Papers*, 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 216.

demned on very doubtful evidence, and executed December 7, 1683.

One of the three grounds on which Algernon Sidney was charged with treason was his alleged authorship of a treatise proclaiming the subjects' right of deposing kings by violence. The treatise thus used as evidence either was or strongly resembled Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government*, first published in 1698.<sup>1</sup>

Like the first part of the greater and more influential treatise of Locke, Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government* is a refutation, point by point, of Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha, or The Natural Power of Kings Asserted*,<sup>2</sup> first published in 1680. In his *Patriarcha*, Filmer advances the belief that kingship is "natural" and essentially like a father's authority over his family. Earlier writers had often, though usually by way of metaphorical adornment, termed a king the father of his people: Filmer makes this metaphor the foundation-stone of his argument. Basing his treatise upon an idea somewhat more historical than the notion of a contract, and helping much to rid political philosophy of argument from biblical texts, Filmer is more important for his methods than for his results. Indeed, his results are now chiefly remembered for the attack made upon them by Locke and Sidney.

Now, without commenting upon their validity, let me briefly summarize<sup>3</sup> some of Sidney's principal arguments, using mainly his own words:

Our inquiry is not after that which is preferred, well knowing that no such thing is found among men; but we seek that human constitution which is attended with the least or the most pardonable inconveniences.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a short general account (with a bibliography) of English political theory in the late seventeenth century, see A. L. Smith, in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vi. Chap. 23. W. A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu*, New York, 1905, is clear and convenient, but often — as in his treatment of Sidney — slight. G. P. Gooch's *Political Thought in England from Bacon to Halifax*, London, 1914, is an excellent little book. Among the more thorough treatments of the subject two complementary volumes in the Cambridge [England] Historical Essays are pre-eminent: G. P. Gooch, *The History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge, 1898 (see, especially, Chap. X); and J. N. Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*, Cambridge, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> For a good account of Filmer, see Figgis, *Divine Right of Kings*, 146 ff.

<sup>3</sup> As Ewald does at considerable length in his final chapter. The page numbers in the following summary refer to the edition of 1704.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter II, Section 18, p. 125.

Antiquity teaches that kings reign only by the consent of the people, in whom lay the whole source of power, for the liberty of a people is the gift of God and nature.<sup>1</sup> Princes as well as other magistrates are set up by the people for the public good.<sup>2</sup> Hence, in all controversies concerning the power of magistrates we are not to examine what conduces to their profit or glory, but what is good for the public.<sup>3</sup> If disagreements happen between king and people, why is it a more desperate opinion to think that the king should be subject to the censures of the people than the people subject to the will of the king? <sup>4</sup> That law which is not just is not a law, and that which is not law ought not to be obeyed.<sup>5</sup> There can be no such thing in the world as the rebellion of a nation against its own chief magistrates. The whole body of a nation cannot be tied to any other obedience than is consistent with the common good, according to their judgment; and having never been subdued or brought to terms with their chief magistrates, they cannot be said to revolt or rebel against them, to whom they owe no more than seems good to themselves, and who are nothing of or by themselves, more than other men.<sup>6</sup>

Laws and constitutions ought to be weighed; and whilst all due reverence is paid to such as are good, every nation may not only retain in itself a power of changing or abolishing all such as are not so, but ought to exercise that power according to the best of their understanding; and in the place of what was either at first mistaken, or afterwards corrupted, to constitute that which is most conducing to the establishment of Justice and Liberty.<sup>7</sup>

All nations have been, and are, more or less happy, as they or their ancestors have had vigor of spirit, integrity of manners, and wisdom to invent and establish such orders, and as have better or worse provided for this common good, which was sought by all.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps I have set forth at too great length these matters relating to Sidney and his book; but it seems to me that, in trying to connect Sidney with the leaders of the American Revolu-

<sup>1</sup> Chapter III, Section 33, p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, Section 3, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter III, Section 11, p. 273.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, Section 25, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter I, Section 19, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, Section 2, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, Section 36, p. 376.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, Section 36, p. 379.

tion, we should think of him as they did — not primarily as the author of a striking Latin sentence, but as a martyr to liberty, and especially as the author of a work abounding in precisely the arguments that they required.

Our next step must be to ask how accessible this motto was before 1775 to the Massachusetts leaders of the American Revolution, who, as we have seen, had ample reason to study Algernon Sidney.

Curiously enough, we cannot understand this matter without some consideration of Thomas Hollis (1720–1774) and certain of his gifts and letters.<sup>1</sup> The Thomas Hollis in question is the third of his name, and is usually known as Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn, by which title he himself requested that he should be styled. Upon the death of his father and his great-uncle, Thomas Hollis inherited their fortunes and the family interest in Harvard College. This interest soon began to show not only by gifts of money, but by gifts of certain books, which are for our purpose extremely interesting. Hollis, as is well known, was rich, learned, eccentric, a born collector and bibliophile, and a passionate lover of liberty. He formed the habit of sending to public libraries and to private individuals copies of certain books, prints, and medals having to do with the history of republican doctrines. Upon the books especially Hollis lavished great care. To judge from those which were sent to the Harvard College Library and which escaped the fire of 1764,<sup>2</sup> the bindings — especially of the books that Hollis cared most for — were apt to be rich and striking.<sup>3</sup> Hollis had a fancy for bright shades of Russia

<sup>1</sup> On Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn the principal authorities are the Hollis Papers (especially Hollis's correspondence with Mayhew), in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Archdeacon Blackburne's *Memoir of Thomas Hollis*, 2 vols., London, 1780; Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 144–147; Edwin Cannan, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> "The library contained about five thousand volumes, all of which were consumed, except a few books in the hands of the members of the House; and two donations, one made by our late honorable Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, to the value of 50*l* sterling; the other of fifty-six volumes, by the present worthy Thomas Hollis, Esq., F. R. S., of London, to whom we have been annually obliged for valuable additions to our late Library; which donations, being but lately received, had not the proper boxes prepared for them; and so escaped the general ruin." *Massachusetts Gazette*, February 2, 1764, quoted by Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 482.

<sup>3</sup> In regard to the bindings of his books Hollis wrote to President Holyoke, June 24, 1765: "The bindings of books are little regarded by me for my own

leather, and his binder used certain dies made to Hollis's order and often representing portions of his arms. The figure of Britannia, an owl, an olive branch, a dagger, or a lion will often be found on the back or the panel of one of Hollis's books. He was, furthermore, in the habit of writing inscriptions upon the fly-leaves, in which his eager devotion to the cause of liberty found full expression.

President Holyoke and the other authorities of the College were naturally appreciative of this munificent patron and did what they could to display his gifts effectively. On July 9, 1766, President Holyoke wrote as follows to Hollis, describing the alcove in the College Library where the Hollis books were arranged:

SIR, — Having reserved one of the alcoves in our Library, of which there are ten in all, for your books, we have now placed them; and a most beautiful appearance they make: we have some other alcoves that look very well, but not as the Hollis.<sup>1</sup> Though I look upon this as a small thing in comparison with the wise choice you have made of the subjects in them treated of, and the excellent authors among them; as they well nigh fill one alcove, we have hung therein a table, whereon is inscribed the name of Hollis, in large gilt capitals; besides which there is pasted on the inside of the cover of each of your bo[o]ks the inclosed, cut in black as to those of them we suffer to be lent out, and in red as to those we think too precious for loan, which those gentlemen who want them may consult in the library, we having all conveniences for that purpose, and the Librarian always ready to attend them.<sup>2</sup>

The splendors of the Hollis alcove are also sung by the unknown author of *Harvardium Restauratum* (1766):<sup>3</sup>

proper library; but by long experience I have found it necessary to attend to them for other libraries; having thereby drawn notice, with preservation, on many excellent books, or curious, which, it is probable, would else have passed unheeded and neglected." Blackburne's *Hollis*, II. 603.

On January 7, 1767, Andrew Eliot wrote to Hollis: "As a friend to Harvard College, I sincerely thank you for your liberality to that society. The books you have sent are vastly curious and valuable, and the bindings elegant. I hope their external appearance will invite our young gentlemen to peruse them, which I am persuaded was your principal design in sending them." *4 Collections*, IV. 402.

<sup>1</sup> A plan of Harvard Hall showing these alcoves, drawn to scale, is in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XIV. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Blackburne, *Hollis*, II. 603.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in the *Boston Gazette*, April 7, 1766. See *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XI. 59.



Harvard's new built walls contain  
 Fairest memorials of thy <sup>1</sup> lib'ral soul.  
 From that grand alcove, destin'd to receive  
 The learned treasures by thy bounteous hand  
 Presented, we behold, with wond'ring eyes,  
 The splendid tomes, throughout the spacious room,  
 Like orient sol diffuse their beamy glories!

We have here, I think, a very interesting situation. At a time when the College Library — originally classical and theological for the most part — was just feeling the need of books on affairs of the state, these striking gifts of Thomas Hollis must have been for young men of the Adams, Mayhew, and Otis type one of the great formative influences of their lives.<sup>2</sup>

But Hollis by no means confined his generosity to Harvard College. Early in the 1750's he was attracted by the learning and vigor of the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, whom he speedily made his most intimate New England correspondent. To Mayhew he sent such frequent and magnificent gifts that the good minister professed himself to be almost overwhelmed with Hollis's generosity. He was in the habit of sending a number of extra copies of certain books and prints and of relying upon Mayhew's discretion to place them to the best advantage.<sup>3</sup>

The temptation is strong to go on speaking at length about Thomas Hollis as an influence upon the formation of revolutionary sentiment; but we must leave him for the moment, to return to him later in connection with certain of his gifts.

In 1694 Robert Viscount Molesworth (1656-1725) published

<sup>1</sup> Addressed to Thomas Hollis, as a footnote to the poem indicates.

<sup>2</sup> "The books he sent were often political, and of a republican stamp. And it remains for the perspicacity of our historians to ascertain what influence his benefactions and correspondence had in kindling that spirit which emancipated these States from the shackles of colonial subserviency, by forming 'high-minded men,' who, under Providence, achieved our independence.

"Doubtless at the favored Seminary her sons drank deeply of the writings of MILTON, HARRINGTON, SYDNEY, LUDLOW, MARVELL, and LOCKE. These were there, by Mr. Hollis's exertions, political text-books. And the eminent men of that day were —

"By antient learning to the enlightened love  
 Of antient freedom warmed."

William Jenks, *Eulogy on Bowdoin*, Boston, 1812, 21.

<sup>3</sup> On May 21, 1760, Mayhew writes of certain books just received from Hollis that "they have afforded both me & my friends a great deal of pleasure." *Hollis Papers*, 5.

the first edition of *An / Account / Of / Denmark, / As / It was in the Year 1692. / [motto] / London: / Printed in the Year 1694.* / Molesworth had himself been an ambassador to Denmark in 1689, and was an ardent republican and admirer of Sidney. The introduction of his book is a vigorous plea for popular government. On page xxiii of this introduction, Molesworth writes:

That Kingdon [*i. e.* Denmark] has often had the Misfortune to be govern'd by French Counsels. At the Time when Mr. Algernon Sidney was Ambassador at that Court, Monsieur Terlon, the French Ambassador, had the Confidence to tear out of the Book of Mottos in the King's Library, this Verse, which Mr. Sidney (according to the Liberty allowed to all noble Strangers) had written in it:

Manus haec inimica Tyrannis  
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

Though Monsieur Terlon understood not a Word of Latin, he was told by others the Meaning of that Sentence, which he considered as a Libel upon the French Government, and upon such as was then setting up in Denmark by French Assistance or Example.

Here, then, is one place where the motto might have been read. How accessible was Molesworth? There was a copy of the first edition in the library of John Adams, who also owned a copy of the sixth edition, Glasgow, 1752.<sup>1</sup> The Harvard College Library received in 1764 a copy of the edition of 1738, on the fly-leaf of which Thomas Hollis wrote the following inscription:

The preface to the *Acc. of Denmark*, and the Translator's preface to *Hottoman's Franco-gallia*<sup>2</sup> are two of the NOBLEST in the English language.

<sup>1</sup> *An / Account / Of / Denmark, / As it was in the Year 1692. / By the Right Honourable / Robert Lord Viscount Molesworth. / [motto] / The Sixth Edition. / Glasgow: / Printed by R. Urie, MDCCLII.* Boston Public Library, Adams, 223. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Franco-gallia: Or, An Account of the Ancient Free State of France, and Most other Parts of Europe, before the Loss of their Liberties. Written originally in Latin by the Famous Civilian Francis Hottoman, In the Year 1574. And Translated into English by the Author of the Account of Denmark.* London: 1721. The Harvard copy, presented by Thomas Hollis in 1764, has on the fly-leaf an inscription by Hollis which virtually constitutes a cross-reference to Molesworth: "The Translator's preface to the *Franco-gallia*, and the preface to the *Acc. of Denmark* are two of the NOBLEST prefaces in the English language. THOMAS HOLLIS."

It appears, therefore, that Molesworth in 1694 was the first to use the complete motto in connection with Algernon Sidney. Three years later, the complete motto reappears, but in a slightly different form. This is in Rochester's *Familiar Letters*, which (p. 57) contains the following version of the Copenhagen episode, with the motto in a novel form:

It is said, That the University of *Copenhagen* brought their *Album* unto you, desiring you to write something therein, and that you did *scribere in Albo* these words,

*Manus haec inimica Tyrannis,  
Ense petit placida cum Libertate quietem.*<sup>1</sup>

More important still were the various editions of Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government*. Of these there seem to be the following:

Discourses / Concerning / Government, / By / Algernon Sidney, / Son to Robert Earl of *Leicester*, and Ambassador / from the Commonwealth of *England* to *Charles / Gustavus* King of *Sweden*. / Published from an *Original Manuscript of the Author*. / London, / Printed, and are to be sold by the Booksellers of / *London* and *Westminster*. MDCXCVIII. Folio.

No portrait. Copenhagen episode not given.

Discourses / Concerning / Government, / By Algernon Sidney, / Son to Robert Earl of *Leicester*, and / Ambassador from the Commonwealth of *Eng-land* to *Charles Gustavus* King of *Sweden*. The Second Edition carefully corrected. / To which is added, / The Paper He deliver'd to the Sheriffs / immediately before his Death. / And an Alphabetical Table. / London. / Printed by J. *Darby* in Bartholomew-Close. MDCCIV. Folio.

Portrait, with motto below. Copenhagen episode not given.<sup>2</sup>

Discourses / Concerning / Government; / By / Algernon Sidney, / Son to Robert Earl of *Leicester*, / And / Ambassador from the Commonwealth of *England* / to *Charles Gustavus* King of *Sweden*. / Published from an *Original Manuscript of the Author*. / To which is added, / A Short Account of the Author's Life. / And a Copious Index. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. / *Edinburgh*: / Printed for G.

<sup>1</sup> The same version appears (Vol. I. 55) in "The Second Edition with Additions" of these *Familiar Letters*, London, 1697.

<sup>2</sup> An edition of 1740 in folio is mentioned by Professor C. H. Firth in his article on Sidney in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Since no other authority appears to mention an edition of 1740, and since Firth's list of editions omits the folio of 1704, I am inclined to think that his 1740 edition is simply a printer's error for 1704.

Hamilton and J. Balfour. / M.DCC.L. Boston Public Library, Adams, 292.17.

No portrait, Copenhagen episode (p. xiv), with motto in full and usual form.

Discourses / Concerning / Government. / By / Algernon Sidney, Esq; / To which are added, / Memoirs of his Life, / And / An Apology for Himself, / Both Now first published, / And the latter from his Original Manuscript. / The Third Edition. / With an Alphabetical Index of the principal Matters. / [cut] / London: / Printed for A. Millar, opposite Catharine's-street in / the Strand, M.DCC.LI. Folio.

Portrait, with motto below. Copenhagen episode (p. vii), with motto in full and usual form.

Discourses Concerning Government / By Algernon Sydney / With His Letters Trial Apology / And Some Memoirs Of His Life / London: Printed For A. Millar / MDCCLXIII / Or To The Tribunals Under Change Of Times. 4°.

Portrait, with Molesworth version of Copenhagen episode below. The episode retold in text (p. 8) with motto in full and usual form.

The Works Of Algernon Sydney / A New Edition / London, Printed, by W Strahan Iun. / For T. Becket and Co. and T. Cadell, / In The Strand; T. Davies, / In Russel / Street; And T. Evans, In King Street / MDCCLXXII / [cut of liberty cap] / "Or To The Uniust Tribunals Under Change Of Times." 4°.

Same as edition of 1763, except that Copenhagen episode occurs on p. 10 of text.

Of these, the edition of 1698 does not contain the motto.

The edition of 1750 was published at Edinburgh in two volumes. There is a copy in the library of John Adams (now at the Public Library of the City of Boston) which contains on the fly-leaf of the first volume the inscription "John Adams 1766." In this edition (pp. vii ff.) is "A Short Account of the Life of Algernon Sidney," which (p. xiv) contains an account of the Copenhagen episode and the complete motto. It is very important to note that John Mein's circulating library on King Street, "Second Door above the British Coffee-House" contained in 1765 a copy of the Sidney of 1750, which the compiler of Mein's catalogue regarded as deserving an analysis of its contents to the length of about twelve lines.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a copy of this catalogue in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. On circulating libraries in Boston at this period, see C. K. Bolton in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XI. 196 ff.

Besides the English editions of Sidney, there are several translations in French.<sup>1</sup> There is in the library of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences a highly interesting copy of the French edition of 1702, published at The Hague in three duodecimo volumes:

Discours / Sur / Le Gouvernement, / Par Algernon Sidney, / Fils de Robert Comte de Leicester, / Et / Ambassadeur / De / La République D'Angleterre / Près De / Charles Gustave / Roi de Suède. / Publiez sur l'Original Manuscrit de l'Auteur. / Traduits De L'Anglois, / Par P. A. Samson. / Tome Premier. / [cut.] / A La Haye, / . . . / M.DCCII. /

The first volume has a portrait of Sidney entirely different from any that I have seen in the English editions. The fourth page of the preface tells the Copenhagen incident, with the motto in the form found in Rochester's *Familiar Letters* in 1697. Each volume has the autograph of Jeremiah Gridley<sup>2</sup> and a bookplate showing that it was given to the Academy by the Honorable James Bowdoin, Esq.,<sup>3</sup> in 1790. This copy is important because it not only brings into our story James Bowdoin and Jeremiah Gridley, but — from Gridley's relation to John Adams and the other young lawyers of Adams's generation — it suggests a very considerable influence.

This leaves to be considered the four very interesting editions of 1704, 1751, 1763, and 1772. I must confess that I began this investigation supposing that, in order to come across this motto, readers of John Adams's day would have to go pretty far afield; but a glance at the portraits opposite the titlepages of these four editions will show that whoever turned to any one of them, even for a moment, could hardly help noticing the motto: in the editions of 1704 and 1751 it stands out alone and conspicuously below Sidney's portrait; in the quartos of 1763 and 1772 it is similarly placed, though imbedded in Molesworth's account of the Copenhagen episode.

Of the edition of 1704 there is at present a copy in the Boston Public Library, which was given by Mrs. W. S. Fitz, February 14, 1894. It contains the autograph of Henry Ward

<sup>1</sup> Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, Paris, 1864, mentions three editions.

<sup>2</sup> On Jeremiah Gridley (1702-1767) see Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*; John Adams, *Works*, *passim*; J. T. Morse, Jr., in Winsor's *Memorial History of Boston*, IV. 574.

<sup>3</sup> James Bowdoin (1752-1811), son of Governor James Bowdoin (1727-1790).

DISCOURSES  
CONCERNING  
GOVERNMENT,  
BY  
Algernon Sidney,

Son to *Robert Earl of Leicester*, and  
Ambassador from the Commonwealth of *Eng-  
land* to *Charles Gustavus King of Sweden*.

*Publisch'd from an Original Manuscript.*

---

The Second Edition carefully corrected.

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To which is Added,

The Paper He deliver'd to the Sheriffs  
immediately before his Death.

And an ALPHABETICAL TABLE.

---

*Dulce & decorum est pro Patria mori. Hor.*

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed by *J. Darby* in *Bartholomew-Close*. MDCCIV.

Post, 1859, the bookplate of James Birch, and an almost illegible autograph (perhaps that of James Birch), below which the words "Middle Temple" can be distinguished. I have no evidence that there was a copy of this edition in Massachusetts before 1775.

Of the edition of 1751 there is an extremely interesting copy in the Harvard College Library, splendidly bound in red Russia leather, with elaborate stamping in gilt of a very special design. The volume is one of four copies printed on large paper and extra illustrated with six prints of Algernon Sidney, which are so important in their bearing upon our problem that they must be spoken of separately a little later. There is strong reason for believing that this copy of the edition of 1751, which came to the Harvard College Library from President Walker, belonged to the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, who appears clearly to have been Hollis's most intimate friend in Massachusetts. If this was Mayhew's book, we may be perfectly sure that more than one person who was later to take a prominent part in the events of 1775 saw the book in Mayhew's study.

That there was a copy of the 1751 edition in the Harvard College Library is more than probable, though proof is almost necessarily lacking, since there is no catalogue of the College Library between 1723 and 1773. In 1723, of course, this book had not been published; in 1773 nearly the whole library had been wiped out by the fire of January 24, 1764. It will be remembered that at the time of that fire the Council was meeting in the very room which contained the folio of 1751, if the College possessed it. It is, of course, mere speculation to suggest that in that case several members of the Council would doubtless have examined a volume which in typography and binding must have been one of the handsomest in the library and which in subject-matter was of peculiar interest to Massachusetts statesmen.

Of the edition of 1763 there is a particularly interesting copy in the Harvard College Library. On the back is stamped the owl, indicating that Thomas Hollis thought that there was much wisdom in the book. On one of the fly-leaves is the following inscription:

Thomas Hollis, an Englishman, a Lover of Liberty, his Country, and its excellent Constitution, as nobly restored at the happy Revolution, is desirous of having the honour to deposite this book in the public library of Harvard College, at Cambridge in New England.

Pall Mall, ap. 14, 1763.

On the next leaf, below the printed figure of Britannia, Hollis wrote:

Felicity is freedom, and freedom is magnanimity!

Thucyd.

I need not emphasize the accessibility of a motto opposite the title-page of a book thus bound and inscribed, placed in the Hollis alcove of the Harvard College Library.

It is certain that Jonathan Mayhew also received a copy of this same edition of Sidney, although he had probably received previously the folio of 1751; for on November 21, 1763, Mayhew wrote to Hollis as follows:

I received, together with your last another Box of Books.

Indeed, Sir, you so confound me with your repeated favors of this Sort, that I know not what to say by way of Acknowledgement; I shall therefore leave you to conjecture with what sentiments of gratitude I receive them. Tho' I have of late been much engaged, I have read most of the Books & Publications which you last sent me excepting two or three which I had before met with.

After mentioning several other books sent by Hollis, Mayhew says of the Sidney:

“By the *Spirit* of the Notes on the New Edition of the admirable *Sydney*, I am so well satisfied *who* added them, as not to desire *any Information on that head.*”

Late in the same letter Mayhew assures Hollis that “Duplicates of Books sent, are distributed agreeably to your Directions, and my best Discretion.”<sup>1</sup> It is probable, therefore, that some of these duplicates were copies of Sidney and that Mayhew gave them to two or three other Massachusetts men.

After Mayhew's death in 1766, Andrew Eliot<sup>2</sup> became

<sup>1</sup> Hollis Papers, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> As is clear from the Hollis Papers.



THE WORKS OF ALGERNON SYDNEY  
A NEW EDITION

LONDON, PRINTED BY W. STRAHAN IUN.  
FOR T. BECKET AND CO. AND T. CADELL,  
IN THE STRAND; T. DAVIES, IN RUSSEL  
STREET; AND T. EVANS, IN KING STREET  
MDCCLXXII



“OR TO THE UNIUST TRIBUNALS UNDER CHANGE OF TIMES”

Thomas Hollis's chief correspondent in New England, although no one could quite fill Mayhew's place in Hollis's affection. That Hollis sent Andrew Eliot a copy of Sidney in November of 1767 is clear from Eliot's letter to Hollis of 10 December, 1767.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining edition, that of 1772, is in the Harvard Library, though there is no evidence that it was in Massachusetts before 1775.<sup>2</sup> There is a copy of the book in the John Adams library, though the absence of his autograph makes it not perfectly certain that he owned the book before 1775.<sup>3</sup>

Another source of local but real interest is a "set of prints" from Thomas Hollis, sent to the Harvard College Library. The volume is a handsome thin folio, characteristically bound at Hollis's order, and with his initials on the side. Within, he has written on the fly-leaf:

Thomas Hollis, an Englishman, a Lover of Liberty, Citizen of the World, is desirous of having the honour to present this set of prints to Harvard College at Cambridge in New England.

Pall Mall, sept. 14, 1764.

The book contains thirteen handsome prints all engraved at Hollis's order. Of these the seventh in order is Sidney's, with the motto below, approximately as in the frontispiece to the editions of 1763 and 1772.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *4 Mass. Hist. Collections*, IV. 412.

<sup>2</sup> This copy, a part of the Sumner Bequest, was given to Sumner by George Livermore.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Lindsay Swift has pointed out that the Adams Library contains some books that have been added since the death of John Adams. *Catalogue of the Adams Library*, Boston, 1917, viii.

In addition to the Adams copy of the 1772 Sidney, the Boston Public Library has a copy given by Theodore Parker. In rebinding it all the original fly-leaves have been removed, and there is no clue to its history before 1864.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Hollis's note on these prints, written on the fly-leaf of the book containing them, is as follows:

"Years ago Mr. George Vertue made a Drawing of Algernon Sidney by permission of John the last Earl of Leicester of the Sidney Family, from the Original in Oils of Iustus at Egmond at penshurst; with the Intention to engrave a print by it, to be placed among the illustrious Men then publishing by Knapton. By a variety of Accidents no print however was executed. Long after a Gentleman purchased the Drawing; and that the Memory of so excellent a person might be still better preserved and extended, He caused a print to be made from it by the ingenious Mr. Jackson of Battersea, the same who studied many Years in Italy, and acquired Reputation by divers Works produced there, and afterwards in

Although no actual proof can be attached to it, a word ought to be said here about the very interesting set of prints bound up with the large paper copy of the 1751 edition of Sidney, which is now in the Harvard Library and which was originally, I think, presented to Jonathan Mayhew. These six prints are in different states, but in each case the motto appears very conspicuously.

Another interesting gift of Thomas Hollis to the Harvard Library was a fine copy of Lucan<sup>1</sup> in the quarto edition printed at Leyden in 1728. From the binding, and the "Floreat Libertas" which Hollis has written into the text at one point,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that he considered the gift an important addition to his republican propaganda. On the fly-leaf at the end of the book Hollis has written

Manus haec inimica Tyrannis  
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

A. Sidney.

Not less striking than any of the books thus far discussed is a copy of John Locke's *Letters concerning Toleration*, London, 1765, for the gift of which to the Harvard Library we are again indebted to Thomas Hollis, who wrote on the fly-leaf:

England. It is cut in Wood, on four Blocks, to receive four Impressions in Chiaro oscuro with Oyl; chiefly after the principles of Albert Durer, and Ugo di Carpi. The five first prints in this Book are compleat proofs from the four several Blocks of Mr. Jackson's print. The sixth is from the first and second Block only, and is curious for the outline. But all the six vary in some Respect each from the other. N. B. There are but four Sidney's of the large paper, in which these six prints have been bound up; neither is it now possible to bind another set in this same Manner, the Copys of that size being all already sold."

<sup>1</sup> One can hardly mention Lucan without being drawn into the question of the source of our motto. After the vain efforts of Mr. George Birkbeck Hill (see the preface to his edition of *Gibbon's Autobiography*) I have thought it useless to search the Latin poets. Lucan, however, does contain (Book vii, l. 348) an *ense petat* which Sidney may have borrowed, for Sidney cites Lucan fully a dozen times in the *Discourses*. There seems to be no doubt that the motto *Manus haec inimica tyrannis* was in use by at least three families (Probyn of Bramton, Hunts; Tonson, Baron Riversdale; Tufnell of Boreham, Essex) before Sidney wrote the words in the album. But I cannot pretend to have gone with any thoroughness into either this question or the equally puzzling one of the relation between the Earl's version, the Molesworth version, and the Rochester version of what Sidney is supposed to have written. The inscription in the album at Copenhagen having been destroyed, and there being no clear light on the question whether the full line and a half can be found in any Latin author, I have thought it wisest to limit myself to the situation in Massachusetts from 1750 to 1775. There, unquestionably, the story as Molesworth tells it was accepted.

<sup>2</sup> See Book i, l. 128.

Thomas Hollis, an Englishman, Citizen of the World, is desirous of having the honor to present this Book to the Library of Harvard College, at Cambridge in N. England.

Pall Mall, jan. 1, 1765.

The profound influence of Locke upon the leaders of the American Revolution is well known. "Locke, in particular, was the authority to whom the Patriots paid greatest deference. . . . Almost every writer seems to have been influenced by him, many quoted his words, and the argument of others shows the unmistakable imprint of his philosophy."<sup>1</sup> It is safe to assume, therefore, that many readers before 1775 handled the Hollis copy of Locke's *Letters concerning Toleration* in the Harvard Library. As they did so, they inevitably came across the last four words of the motto, for on the back cover these words are stamped as below:

—PLACIDAM SVB LIBERTATE QVIETEM

It would seem, therefore, that those who between 1751 and 1772 knew the Harvard College Library, or enjoyed the friendship of Thomas Hollis or of his most intimate New England correspondents, could hardly have failed to have the Sidney motto impressed upon their memory as a striking summary of his doctrines.

In the case of a few prominent Massachusetts men, we fortunately have real evidence that they knew their Sidney. Josiah Quincy, Jr., in his will, which is dated February 28, 1774, wrote: "I give to my son, when he shall arrive at the age of fifteen years, Algernon Sidney's Works, John Locke's Works, Lord Bacon's Works, Gordon's Tacitus & Cato's Letters." "May the spirit of liberty rest upon him."<sup>2</sup> On May 13, 1767, Andrew Eliot writes to Thomas Hollis to say that he is pleased with a certain treatise which "justly gives the author a place among the most noble writers on government." "I could have wished, however," he adds, "that when the editor mentioned him as inferior *only* to *Milton*, he had also inserted *Sydney*, 'that,' as you justly style him, 'Martyr to Civil Liberty.' I am perhaps prejudiced in favor

<sup>1</sup> C. E. Merriam, *American Political Theories*, New York, 1906, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr., by his son*, Josiah Quincy, second edition, Boston, 1874, p. 289.



AT THE TIME WHEN MR. ALGERNON SYDNEY WAS AMBASSADOR AT THE COVRT OF DENMARK MONSIEVR TERLON THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAD THE CONFIDENCE TO TEAR OVT OF THE BOOK OF MOTTOES IN THE KING'S LIBRARY THIS VERSE WHICH MR. SYDNEY ACCORDING TO THE LIBERTY ALLOWED TO ALL NOBLE STRANGERS HAD WRITTEN IN IT

MANVS HAEC INIMICA TYRANNIS  
ENSE PETIT PLACIDAM SVB LIBERTATE QUIETEM

THOUGH MONSIEVR TERLON VNDERSTOOD NOT A WORD OF LATIN HE WAS TOLD BY OTHERS THE MEANING OF THAT SENTENCE WHICH HE CONSIDERED AS A LIBEL VPON THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND VPON SVCH AS WAS THEN SETTING VP IN DENMARK BY FRENCH ASSISTANCE OR EXAMPLE. LORD MOLESWORTH'S PREFACE TO HIS ACCOVT OF DENMARK.

of that great man, because he was the first who taught me to form any just sentiments on government."

On Friday, May 17, 1766, the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew preached a Thanksgiving sermon which was afterwards published under the title of *The Snare Broken*.<sup>1</sup> On page 35 of this sermon he wrote:

Having been initiated, in youth, in the doctrines of civil liberty, as they were taught by such men as Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, and other renowned persons among the ancients; and such men as Sidney and Milton, Locke and Hoadley, among the moderns; I liked them; they seemed rational. . . . As I advanced towards, and into, manhood; I would not, I cannot now, tho' past middle age, relinquish the fair object of my youthful affections, LIBERTY; whose charms, instead of decaying with time in my eyes, have daily captivated me more and more.

But Mayhew and Andrew Eliot, interesting as they are, yield to John Adams, who stands forth conspicuously among those who may well have been responsible for bringing about the adoption of our motto.

On 17 September, 1823, John Adams wrote to Jefferson: "I have lately undertaken to read Algernon Sidney on government. There is a great difference in reading a book at four-and-twenty and at eighty-eight. As often as I have read it and fumbled it over, it now excites fresh admiration that this work has excited so little interest in the literary world. As splendid an edition of it as the art of printing can produce, as well for the intrinsic merits of the work, as for the proof it brings of the bitter sufferings of the advocates of liberty from that time to this, and to show the slow progress of moral, philosophical, political illumination in the world, ought to be now published in America."<sup>2</sup>

This letter seems to show that John Adams first became acquainted with Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government* in the year 1759, although — as we have seen — it was not until 1766, apparently, that he possessed a copy. In his *De-*

<sup>1</sup> The Snare broken. / A / Thanksgiving-Discourse, / Preached / . . . . / In / Boston, N. E. Friday May 23, 1766. / Occasioned By The / Repeal / Of The / Stamp-Act. / By / Jonathan Mayhew, D.D. / . . . . / [motto] / Boston / 1766.

<sup>2</sup> John Adams, *Works*, x. 410. Editions of Sidney's *Discourses* appeared in New York and in Philadelphia in 1805.

*fense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*, 1778,<sup>1</sup> the fifth chapter consists of extracts from various writers on government. Of these, three pages are from Sidney. Later, in the same work<sup>2</sup> Adams names certain writers on government — Sidney first of all — and then remarks: "Americans should make collections of all these speculations, to be preserved as the most precious relics of antiquity, both for curiosity and for use." Most interesting of all, however, is a passage in the final paragraph — the peroration itself — of John Adams's speech in defence of Captain Preston in 1770. No one here needs to be told that, by defending the officer who was thought to have ordered the firing which began the Boston massacre, Adams was taking a very serious step. It is inconceivable that he did not prepare his speech with the greatest care. When, therefore, we find him, at the peroration of this speech, appealing to the authority of Sidney, that fact has great weight in settling the question of Sidney's place in the thought of the period. But notice the words with which John Adams introduces his quotation from Sidney's *Discourses*: "To use the words of a great and worthy man, a patriot and a hero, an enlightened friend to mankind, and a martyr to liberty — I mean Algernon Sidney — who, from his earliest infancy sought a tranquil retirement under the shadow of the tree of liberty, with his tongue, his pen, and his sword,"<sup>3</sup> — and then follows the quotation. Here we have, five years before the motto was officially adopted, at least one bit of clear evidence that it was known. Had Adams been in Watertown instead of in Philadelphia from July 27 to August 5, 1775, one might easily imagine that he suggested the motto.

But John Adams was in Philadelphia at this time; Andrew Eliot had gone to Connecticut;<sup>4</sup> Jonathan Mayhew had died in 1766 and Josiah Quincy, Jr., in April of 1775. Others were left on the scene, to be sure, who knew their Sidney well enough to have suggested the motto, and doubtless many such persons have eluded my search; but so far as the immediate suggestion of the motto between July 27 and August 5 is con-

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, iv. 271 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vi. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The italics are mine.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Eliot had become minister of Fairfield, Connecticut, in 1774. *Mass. Hist. Collections*, x. 189.

cerned, it seems to me that — unless led by positive evidence — we are not very safe in going outside of the committee, the members of which were, it will be remembered, Colonel Otis, Dr. Winthrop, Major Hawley, Major Bliss, and Dr. Whiting.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it is because I know so little about the last three; but at any rate I am strongly impressed by the eligibility of Dr. Winthrop to fill the missing place. Dr. Winthrop is, of course, Professor John Winthrop (1714-1779)<sup>2</sup> who graduated from Harvard in 1732, was appointed to the Hollis Professorship of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy in 1738, and received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Edinburgh in 1771 and from Harvard in 1773.<sup>3</sup> Professor Winthrop was twice offered the presidency of the College, and was generally regarded as its most eminent professor. His eminence, furthermore, extended beyond the field of science: not only was he internationally famous for his discoveries in regard to comets, but he impressed the Rev. Charles Chauncy as knowing “a vast deal in every part of literature,”<sup>4</sup> and is regarded by President Quincy as “perhaps better entitled to the character of a universal scholar than any individual of his time, in this country.”<sup>5</sup> Winthrop would not have been afraid of a Latin motto, for he himself wrote Latin prose and perhaps Latin verse;<sup>6</sup> and the fact that he held the Hollis Professorship from 1738 to 1779 guarantees his special interest in the benefactions of the Hollis family. If anyone feels that even Winthrop might easily miss seeing the Hollis books, let him remember that the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Whiting I have not identified. Colonel Otis is of course James Otis of Barnstable (1702-1778). Major Hawley is Joseph Hawley of Northampton. Major Bliss is John Bliss of Wilbraham (1727-1809), on whom J. G. Holland has a little information (*History of Western Massachusetts*, II. 162). I find scattered accounts of these men (except Whiting), and a few of their letters; but nothing to throw light on the matter of the motto. It is greatly to be desired that those who have access to the papers of persons prominently mentioned in this article should search for some conclusive evidence.

<sup>2</sup> See Honorable John Davis, *Life of John Winthrop*, Boston, 1811.

<sup>3</sup> This, as Mr. Henry H. Edes has shown in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, VII. 321 ff., is the first LL.D. granted by Harvard College.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Charles Chauncy to Ezra Stiles, May 8, 1768. *1 Mass. Hist. Collections*, X. 159.

<sup>5</sup> Josiah Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 223.

<sup>6</sup> For John Winthrop's *Cogitata de Cometis* see the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1768, Vol. 57, 132 ff. On Winthrop's not undisputed authorship of No. xxvi (“Dum servat stellas”) in the *Pietas et Gratulatio* of 1761, see Justin Winsor, *Pietas et Gratulatio: an Inquiry into the Authorship of the Several Pieces*, Cambridge, 1879, 6. *Library of Harvard University: Bibliographical Contributions*, No. 4.



library consisted of only five thousand volumes, that it was all in one room, that the Hollis books were much the most conspicuous part of it, and that John Winthrop's son, James Winthrop (1752-1821) was librarian from 1772 to 1787,<sup>1</sup> and so would almost inevitably have called each of the Hollis books to his father's attention as fast as it came. In fact, so long as we are obliged to be content with mere probabilities, is not the claim of John Winthrop to have made the immediate suggestion of the motto strong enough to stand until it is overthrown by positive proof in favor of someone else?

I end, as I began, with three unsolved questions. It would have been delightful to run down that Latin quotation. It would be pleasant to know whether Sidney wrote in the album one line or two, and, if two, precisely what form he gave to the second line. It would be still more worth while to discover positive evidence in regard to the identity of the person who first suggested the motto in or to the committee. But to me this problem is most interesting not as a threefold puzzle in such details, but as a broader study in the development of one very important formative influence upon our people from 1750 to 1775. When it is so considered, it seems to me that the dominating figure is, ultimately, not Mayhew or Adams, but our republican benefactor, Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn — the man who in 1766 wrote to Jonathan Mayhew:

More books, especially on government, are going to New England. Should those go safe, it is hoped that no principal books on that FIRST subject will be wanting in Harvard College, from the days of Moses to these times. Men of New England, brethren, use them for yourselves, and for others; and God bless you!

#### SHIPMENTS TO NEW ENGLAND, 1636-1639.

By the courtesy of Capt. Eben Putnam, of Wellesley Farms, the following items found among the "port books" in the Public Record office, London, are published. They are in continuation of what are printed in *Proceedings*, XLVII. 178, and were compiled from the records by Mr. V. B. Redstone.

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Potter and C. K. Bolton, "The Librarians of Harvard College, 1667-1877," Cambridge, 1897. *Library of Harvard University: Bibliographical Contributions*, No. 52.

20 June 1636. In the Philip of London, master, Richard Hussy for New England:— John Wenthorpe esq. for the Plantation, Massachusetts Bay in New England several remnants of stuffs cost £26; five ordinary yard broad sayes, forty goads Welch Cottons.

12 July 1636. In the William and John of London, master, Rowland Langrum for New England:— John Wenthorpe esq., one single serge, 26 yds of flannel, 211 goads of Welch, and 100 Northern cottons, 108 pair men's woollen stockings, 40 goads Manchester cottons, 200 yards Norwich stuffs cost 20 pence a yard, 4 yard broad perpetuanoes, 50 gallons Aquavitae, 2 tons of Cast lead and 10 Double bayes.

14 September 1636 In the George of London master John Severne for New England John Wenthorpe esq. for the Plantation there, 870 yards of Dornix with thread, 2 ordinary yard broad sayes, 1 cwt. pewter, 120 goads of Northern cottons, 80 yards of freizes with others.

20 June 1636. In the Philip of London, master, Robert Huson for New England, John Winthorpe for the Plantation 13 barrel small band pitch, 4½ cwt Raisins, 10 cwt prunes, 5 cwt. sugar, 2 hhds. of vinegar, 38 iron pots and Kettles cost £6. 13s. 4d., iron work value £40. 250 ells of Vitrii canvas, 200 ells packing canvas, 600 ells coarse linen cost 8 pence an ell, several remnants of stuff cost £26, 5 ordinary yard broad sayes, 40 goads Welsh cottons, 14 gross Sheffield Knives, 14 dozen pair shoes with other things.

8. July 1636. In the William and John of London, master, Rowland Langrum for New England:— John Wenthorpe esq for the Plantation at Massachusetts Bay in New England one single serge, 36 yards of flannel, 250 goads Welch cottons, 100 goads Northern cottons, 240 yards ruggs for beds, 7 pair of blankets, 2 cwt. of wrought iron, 200 ells of vittry canvas, 36 pair of canvas breeches cost 45s., 19 cotton waistcoats cost 40s., 108 pair woollen stockings, 3 dozen children's woollen stockings, 40 goads Manchester cottons, 200 yards of Norwich stuffs cost 20 pence a yard, 4 yard broad perpetuanoes, 8 pieces of Tregar, 20 dozen of shoes, 3 dozen of boots 50 gallons of Aquavitae, 150 yards coarse linen for breeches cost 7 pence a yard, 2 tons of cast lead, 5 cwt. of currants, 17 cwt. of raisins, 1 cwt. of figs, 50 lbs of pepper, 20 doz. of Irish stockings packed in divers parcels with other goods, 10 pieces of double sayes.

14 July 1636. In the William and John aforesaid:— John Wenthorpe esq. 50 goads of Welsh cottons, 50 yards coarse linen for breeches cost 5 pence a yard, 4 yard broad pieces of perpetuanoes, 2 pieces single serges, 2 pieces single bayes, and one piece of Phillip and Cheny.

13 September 1636. In the George of London, master. John Saborne (sic) for New England:— John Wenthorpe esq. for the Plantation in New England. one butt of Spanish wine in rundletts, 610 yards of Darnix with thread, 5 pieces of single velures, 9 Irish ruggs for beds 15 cwt wrought iron, 11 barrel of head nails, 2 ordinary yard broad sayes, 1 cwt. of pewter 110 goads of Northern cottons, 4 dozen shoes, 5 dozen Irish stockings, 600 ells Normandy canvas, 400 ells English linen cloth cost 10 pence an ell, 250 ells of Holland cloth, 6 pieces of Treagar, 100 ells narrow Hamborough linen cloth, 20 pieces sack cloth to make sacks, 24 canvas suits cost 20s 6d a suit, 1 ton of cordage, 1 last of small band pitch and tar, 90 yards of frieze, 4 hhds. of vinegar, 10 cwt. of currants, 7 cwt of raisins, 5 cwt. of prunes, 56 lbs of pepper, 56 lbs. of West Indies ginger,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cwt. of sugar, 4 doz. tallow candles, 30 cwt. of cheese, and 50 firkins of butter with other things.

3 October 1636. In the Elizabeth and Sarah, master, Edward Turner for Virginia:— Nathaniel Deane 4 bales containing 32 pieces of duffells.

16 Oct. 1636. The Charitie of London, master. John Cole for Virginia:— Nicholas Phelps 220 goads of Northern cottons:— William Allen 36 pair men's woollen stockings

15 April. 1639. In the Maieflower of London, master, William Cane for New England:— The Planters and Passengers 1200 pair of woollen stockings, 9 ordinary yard-broad sayes, 490 yards of bayes, 10 Norwich stuffs cost £15, 26 yard broad perpetuanoes, 16 single sayes, 430 lbs of Pewter 1200 goads of Welch cottons 14 dozen plain felt hats 480 yards frises

In the George of London, master, John Severn for New England:— Samuel Wade had 1 cwt. of lead shot, 7 yard-broad perpetuanoes, 2 paragons, 2 ordinary yard broad sayes.

In the St. John for New England:— Jonathan Ince had 15 goads of Welsh cottons, 6 dozen men's woollen stockings, 6 yards of freise.

11 April 1639. In the St. John:— Giles Barrow had 4 single bayes, 18 yard bayes in remnants, 2 ell-broad perpetuanoes.

In the George of London:— John Jackson had 5 cwt. of cast lead.

The Castell of London for Newfoundland.

6 April. 1639. In the St. John of London, master Richard Russell for New England:— Thomas Grigson had 250 goads of Welsh cottons, 2 double bayes, 1 single bay, 70 yards of frieze.

5 April 1639. In the George for New England:— John Farlaby had 22 Runletts containing 62 gallons of Aquavitae.

ISRAEL STOUGHTON TO JOHN WINTHROP.<sup>1</sup>

[July, 1637]

Honored Sr. — By the Pinnacle being Giggles you shall Receiue 48 or 50 women and Children, vnlesse there stay any here to be helpful, etc. Concerning which there is one I formerly mentioned that is the fairest and largest that I saw amongst them to whome I haue giuen a coate to cloath her: It is my desire to haue her for a seruant if it may stand to your good likeing: ells not. There is a little Squa that Steward Calacot<sup>2</sup> desireth to whom he hath given a coate. Life-tenant Dampont also desireth one, to witt a tall one that hath 3 stroakes upon her stummach thus ||| + he desireth her if it will stand to your good likeing: Solomon the indian desireth a young little squa which I know not. But I leaue all to your dispose: We had one here for one of his men.

At present Mr. Haynes, Mr. Ludlo, Capteyne Mason and 30 men are with us in pequid Riuer, and we shall the next weeke joyne in seeing what we can do against Sasacos, and another great Sagamore: Momomattuck:<sup>3</sup> Here is yet good ruff worke to be done, And how deere it will cost is vnknowne: Sasacos is resolut to sell his life and so the other with their Company as deere as they cann: but we doubt not but god will giue him to vs; we are in a faire way — one of the former that we take (or that we [haue] taken to our hands in a great measure) is a great Sachim, the 3d of the pequids: whom we reserue for a help, and find Gods prouidence directed it well, for we are all cleere he is like to do vs good, yet we are farr from giuing him any assurance of life. we see so much worke behind that we dare not dismiss more men yet:

we hope to find a way to bring them in plentifully, and to get the Murderer too: and to make their associates tributory if they still adheare to them: for we heare of a great Number vp the Country among the Neipenetts: but we shall not deale with them without your advice, vnless more remotely.

we haue settled on a place for our randavooze: not full to our content but the best we could for the present: vpon the Mouth of Pequid Riuer, on the Naanticot side, where we haue 200 acres corne if not 2 or 300 men at hand, and a curios spring of water within our pallazado, and may be great Gunns Command the Riuer.

<sup>1</sup> From the Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library. Two letters of Richard Davenport to Governor Winthrop, written about this time from the expedition against the Pequods are printed in 5 *Collections*, I. 244, 248.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Collicot.

<sup>3</sup> A name given by Davenport as Momonothuk, Momonotuk Samm and Momonootuk.

So the Charg of keeping the fort need not be great, seeing corne, water and wood are so neare att hand: and fishing etc.

I pray lett not provisions be neglegted with the first, such as the Country affordeth shall content vs: only when we haue frends, as now, we could beteeme them a peece of Beefe etc: if we had it. The Ru[n]dlet of Sack we haue is some comfort and Credit: but many hands make light worke: and in case of fayntings, sicknes etc among a many, It cannot be but occasions will happen of some expens of such things as are a little better then ordinary.

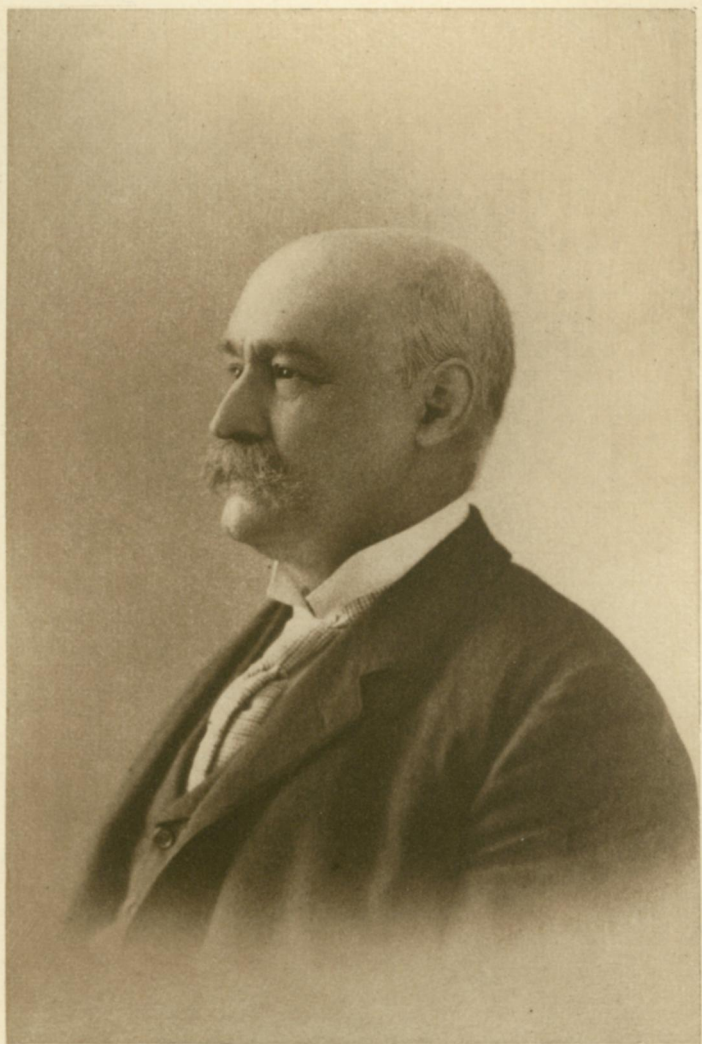
Thus with my deerest Respects remembered to your self with the Councill etc I take leaue Resting yours as in duty euer bound

ISRAEL STOUGHTON.

Endorsed: Mr Stoughton Rec 5. 6.

Addressed: To the Right wor'ff the Gouernor of the Massachusetts. These present.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. NOR-CROSS, KELLEN, and BOWDITCH.



MHS

Edwin P. Leaver

# MEMOIR

OF

## EDWIN PLINY SEAVER

BY CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH.

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EDWIN PLINY SEAVER was born in Northborough, Massachusetts, where his ancestors had lived for many generations, on February 24, 1838, the son of Samuel and Julia Conant Seaver and died in New Bedford, December 7, 1917. He was elected a Member of this Society, December 8, 1887. He paid tributes to Edward E. Hale in October, 1898, to Henry F. Waters in October, 1913, and to Charles Francis Adams in April, 1915. He was also occasionally present at meetings of the Society.

He fitted for college partly at the Friends' Academy in New Bedford while a teacher in that school and partly at Phillips Exeter Academy. He entered Harvard College as a sophomore and graduated with high rank in the Class of 1864. After graduation he became Principal of the boys' department in the Friends' Academy and in July, 1865, was tutor in Mathematics in Harvard University and in 1869 became Assistant Professor. He also studied law from 1866 to 1869 and received the degree of LL.B. in 1869. In 1873 he was elected Head Master of the English High School and held that position until 1880. He never attempted to practise law and it was plain that teaching was not only his vocation but his avocation, and he became one of the most prominent educators in this country. In 1880 he was elected Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Boston and re-elected every other year for two-year terms until 1904 when he failed of re-election. His first report was also the first annual report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of

Boston. He had worthily and satisfactorily filled that important office for twenty-four years and had introduced many reforms in the management of the schools, when to his own and everybody's else surprise he was unexpectedly defeated for re-election by a man named Conley as the result of the votes of the worst elements of the school board secretly combined by religious prejudices. He lived in Newton after his retirement from office until 1908, when he moved to New Bedford, where he died.

He was elected one of the Overseers of Harvard University in 1879 and re-elected in 1885. In 1894 he was again elected to fill a vacancy and was re-elected in 1896 and in 1902.

He prepared in connection with George A. Walton, a well-known mathematician, a series of arithmetics for the use of schools known as the Franklin Arithmetics. He was also the author of "The Formulas of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry" in 1871 and a larger work of the same character called "A Mathematical Handbook containing the chief Formulas of Algebra, Trigonometry, Differential and Integral Calculus and Analytical Geometry" in 1907. He delivered an address on Democracy and Education in 1898 before the National Educational Association, which was afterwards published. He was a Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was a man of high character, quiet and unassuming in manner, and a close student of English literature and educational methods.